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5 June 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

FROM: Chief, DCI Interagency Balkan Task Force

SUBJECT: Principals' Committee Meeting on Bosnia,  
6 June 1995

1. Tomorrow's Principals-only meeting will assess options for UNPROFOR reconfiguration and how to deal with the plethora of developments in Bosnia, including responding to the F-16 shootdown, hostage relief efforts, the possible need for airdrops, and the continuing failure of diplomatic efforts to produce results.

- You will not be required to take the lead on any issue.
- We will ensure that you have the latest intelligence on the status of the US pilot, the hostages, and any other significant issues in time for the meeting. [REDACTED]

2. Although not on the agenda, you may want to warn the Principals of a troubling military development that could lead to renewed fighting in Croatia. With international attention diverted to Bosnia, Croatian and Bosnian Croat forces have mounted a successful offensive along the Croatian-Bosnian border. By our calculations, they advanced twelve kilometers over the weekend, and are within 13 kilometers--shelling range--of the Krajina Serb capital of Knin, and within 10 kilometers of a critical Krajina Serb logistics route.

- The Krajina Serbs are threatening to retaliate if the offensive continues by shelling Croatian cities.
- Krajina Serb shelling, in turn, would give Zagreb the pretext it needs to launch a new offensive of its own.
- We have included copies of a map summarizing recent military developments inside the back cover of this book. [REDACTED]

3. The humanitarian situation--including the level of supplies available to UNPROFOR--is becoming more serious in several enclaves. The UN's suspension of relief convoys through Bosnian Serb and Krajina Serb territory--ordered on 25 May as a precaution against retaliation for NATO airstrikes--has increased prospects for significant food

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shortages in several enclaves. [REDACTED]  
 [REDACTED] UN forces in Gorazde and Zepa were running low on supplies and that aerial resupply of 30 days of food and water may be needed.

-- The possibility that airdrops might be called for will raise questions about what to do about Bosnian Serb air defenses. In the past, military planners have advocated neutralizing these systems as a prerequisite to initiating airdrops.

-- The AIR DEFENSE TAB includes background information on Bosnian Serb air defense capabilities. [REDACTED]  
 [REDACTED]

-- We have prepared a map for you to distribute on our knowledge of the disposition of these forces as of 2 June (copies inside back cover of this book). [REDACTED]  
 [REDACTED]

4. The Principals will also review the status of Ambassador Frasure's efforts to win Milosevic's recognition of Bosnia in exchange for significant sanctions relief.

[REDACTED] suggests growing concern among the Croatians and Bosnian Government about the merits of these talks. The Croatians worry that we are giving away much leverage over Serbia and gaining nothing in the way of a resolution to the Croatian problem. The Bosnians worry that they are getting too little in the way of recognition, since Milosevic is being asked to recognize Bosnia's borders and not the Bosnian Government. [REDACTED]

5. Finally, you should be familiar with our paper on possible threats to US monitors along the Serbian-Bosnian border (see the SANCTIONS TAB). We have no information of a direct threat to the monitors [REDACTED]  
 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Serbian paramilitary personnel affiliated with "Arkan" have been dispatched to Tuzla and Srebrenica in search of American hostages. We extrapolate from this Serbian paramilitary personnel in Serbia--beyond the control of Milosevic--might be inclined to embarrass the Serbian President by threatening American personnel and even turning them over to the Bosnian Serbs.

-- This is an important issue because US personnel have been withdrawn from the border due to security concerns; some other countries are pulling back

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personnel as well, thereby threatening the whole border monitoring regime.

-- Leon Fuerth indicated last week that he might seek a decision by Principals on whether they are prepared to risk Americans being taken hostage in order to continue the border monitoring regime. [redacted]

[redacted]  
[redacted]  
A. Norman Schindler

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